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THE ANTI-UNION.

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THE following Letters were dropped into our box at different times; and as they exhibit, not unfaithfully, the sentiments of two opposite parties on the subject of an Union, we think it not improper to indulge the respective authors with the publication of their performances. At the same time we take this opportunity of declaring, what we trust our manner of conducting this paper, has made sufficiently apparent, that in principle and in practice, we differ from those who swear fealty to either party. We differ from that association, which, to promote a political end, incloses its members within the pale of a sect; and we abhor the conspiracy of those, who, for the purpose of overwhelming the constitution of their country, abuse the simplicity of the lower orders of society, and preach a ferocious, unrelenting enmity against the higher ranks. Our disapprobation of the Orange-man is not, however, unqualified. So far as he is loyal, his conduct deserves our praise; and the indignation he expresses at the requital with which it was intended to reward his services to his King and the Constitution, kindles in our bosom a sympathetic feeling. With the Committee-man we have not one point of contact or sympathy; we rejoice in his disappointment, and we lament that the late desperate project, has raised in him hopes, which, we fondly trusted, the event of the late rebellion had baffled for ever. To the orange-man we should wish to justify our coldness, which he, in derision, has called philosophic. We accept the epithet as a compliment, and we beg leave to suggest to him, that in all human concerns, the torch of reason is a more secure guide, than the unsteady flame of impassioned feeling. The former leads to moderation, the latter to excess. The former always vivid and serene, is fed in the pure atmosphere of philanthropy; while the latter is frequently obscured by the mists of prejudice and intolerance, and sometimes is extinguished in blood.

Our consciences sanction that conduct which the United Irishman calls mistaken patriotism, and the Orangeman frigid indifference. In the sarcasm of one we see something opposite to a love of the constitution, in the censure of the other we can distinguish something different from that calmness which in the most troubled times a rational man should wish to preserve. To the one we explicitly declare our abhorrence of that licentiousness which some political dreamers have called Liberty; to the other we venture to recommend that temperate benevolence whose ultimate object is to encrease human happiness, which laments sectarian animosity, and which so far from countenancing acts of severity turns aside even from the punishment which it may deem necessary to inflict. We anxiously hope soon to

see the time when the constitution of this country shall be secure as well against the attacks of the former and his foreign allies, as against the efforts of a not less formidable assailant, the British Minister; and when the zeal of the latter not limited to a party or circumscribed to a sect shall be directed to promote the equal and universal welfare of all his fellow-countrymen.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

SO! Gentlemen; you friends of the *Connexion*—you sticklers for the *present* constitution in church and state, are about to reap the fruits of your zeal and services! The British Cabinet whom you have so faithfully served, and so implicitly trusted, I find are about to take you to their arms, and reward your fidelity and your confidence, by making you Englishmen! I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the event! I love to see loyalty properly rewarded, tho' it is a virtue I have never boasted—I rejoice to see Irishmen, who have laboured so ardently for British Connexion, raised to the dignity of British subjects!

But to be serious, Gentlemen, for indeed I mean not to insult you, however ridiculous you may appear, after being duped so egregiously; to be serious I say, are you not now convinced, that it was *our* party, not *yours*, that had the truest view of British policy, and divined most truly the intentions of the British cabinet towards this country? Who now appears to have reasoned best on the principles and aims of your Anglo-Irish secretaries; your Pitts, your Grenvilles, and your Camdens? We insisted that the Irish Parliament, constituted as it is of borough-mongers, of placemen, pensioners, and hungry expectants, could never fairly speak the sense, or consult the interests, of Ireland. You reviled us! you whipt, transported, and shot us, for saying so! What do you say now, when the very same assertions which we uttered, and almost in our very words, are promulgated as political truisms, from the very Council-chamber? Must not your hearts tell you, that you have been the dupes of a wicked faction? Must not your consciences now feel that we have been unjustly and unwisely persecuted? But have you yet fully seen your errors? I think not, from your present conduct.

You, Gentlemen, have stepped forward with a zeal and a boldness, that do you honor, because your inten-

tion is, no doubt, good; though your judgment is erroneous; you have stepped forward the first among your countrymen, to raise an outcry against the projected Union, and to excite a constitutional resistance to a measure, which you think dishonourable and ruinous to your country. But I say that if you saw our situation aright, and were friends to the real independence and honor of Ireland, you would, with all your might, promote this Union; Why do I think so? I answer boldly, because I think that an Union is the only event, which, perhaps for a century to come, can furnish means to the real friends of the country, to throw off for ever, the British Connexion. To men of your known principles, men who appear seriously to believe that the welfare of Ireland depends on perpetuating the present connexion between the two countries, this may seem a strange argument; but, Gentlemen, give me leave to tell you, that these principles appear likely, in a very little time, to become antiquated. The present attempt of the British Minister, must have shaken them, and I am convinced there is not a thinking mind in Ireland, who perceives that the *existing* connexion of the two crowns, is regarded by the British Cabinet only as an instrument for bringing about *another* connexion, namely, that which is now about to be forced down your throats, and which must bury for ever, the name, the rights, and the constitution of Ireland; I say there is not a thinking mind in Ireland who perceives this, that does not feel his zeal for British Connexion, glow less ardently. I know that as things go on, that zeal will be extinguished in every bosom in Ireland, and that it will be followed by a determination to rescue the country for ever, from the gripe of British domination. The question then is, whether an Union will tend to accelerate that event? I contend that it will—that it *must* do so of necessary consequence, and my opinion rests upon this argument: It appears by the experience of this summer, that the whole force of the state, animated by the loyalty of most of the men of property in Ireland, prompted by the inveterate animosity of religious bigotry, guided by a resident viceroy, and council of acknowledged talents, and invigorated by the cheering presence of a resident legislature, it appears, I say, that with all these advantages, the force of Ireland seconded by the auxiliary force of Great Britain, was for some time only able to maintain a doubtful contest with our society, though our councils were discovered, our leaders imprisoned, our allies not yet arrived, our people untried in arms, and astonished by the wise, decisive and able measures of the government. Thus much we were able to effect even at that time; it is true, indeed, that at present our power is broken, our allies defeated, our plans and principles detected and exposed, and our force put down after a fair trial of strength—it is true therefore, that we can no longer hope to rise while things remain in their present state—but let an Union be once carried against the will of the loyal part of the community, how different will

be our situation! No man can doubt that the first consequence of that measure will be to add immense numbers to our party, and you will be sure we will not neglect to take advantage of this new ground of discontent. We have hated the Orange-men; but we are not such fools as to reject their assistance, when they shall have been convinced of their mistake by this wanton and insolent attack of the British cabinet—our force, therefore, will be greatly increased; add to this, that many of those noblemen and men of great property, whose influence in the late contest raised up an host against us, will, in that event, either be sent to London as Irish representatives, or they will go thither to court preferment or pleasure. In these, therefore, we shall have our most dangerous enemies removed: But besides this, there will no longer remain a formidable administration, consisting of able and vigilant ministers to watch our movements—there will exist no longer a legislature to guard by wise and timely measures against the operations of our executive: Magistrates, resident five or six hundred miles from the seat of government, will naturally be less active and bold in discharge of their duty than when they were under the eye of a government that would encourage and reward their activity. If there be men in this country who have really the spirit of independent men, they will feel inert and disgusted in their new character of *Provincials*. New taxes, a necessary consequence of an Union, will furnish us with a new handle to play on the feelings of the populace. In short, every circumstance by which an Union can be accompanied will add to *our* strength, and diminish that of the opposite party; what then may we not hope from one bold effort, such as we lately made? What will remain to prevent the success of one great essay to liberate our country? Our country, then a DEPENDANT PROVINCE! TREASON will, in the eye of many who now loath it, lose its turpitude—REBELLION will become a word expressive of moral virtue—and the now detested name of UNITED IRISHMAN will be understood to signify a suffering helot struggling for his freedom!

Gentlemen, I communicate these sentiments to you as to men, who I conceive are acting wrong from the best motives. You are opposing that which tends immediately to the *emancipation* of your country, under the false notion that you are contending for its independence. Desist, if you are wise, from so sottish a conduct. Look *beyond* the present moment, and behold this island rising into self-dependent, unconnected dignity, from a LEGISLATIVE UNION of the two countries!

I am, Gentlemen,

Your real friend,

A COMMITTEE MAN